

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2962

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0041

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MR. KARPOV'S STATEMENTS OF MARCH 2, 1976

SALT TWO-924)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY MR. KARPOV AT  
THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 2, 1976.

KARPOV STATEMENT, MARCH 2, 1976

I

FIRST OF ALL, THE USSR DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO DRAW  
YOUR ATTENTION TO CERTAIN POINTS IN THE REPORT MADE BY  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU  
L.I. BREZHNEV AT THE 25 TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU ON  
FEBRUARY 24, 1976, WHICH HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON THE  
ONGOING SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION  
OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

THE REPORT STATES THAT IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THE  
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PRESSING TASK OF HALTING THE GROWING ARMS RACE WHICH IS

A DANGER TO PEACE, AND TO GO ON TO REDUCTION OF ACCUMULATED STOCKS OF WEAPONS, AND TO DISARMAMENT, EVERY EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO COMPLETE PREPARATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. ON THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS. L.I. BREZHNEV EMPHASIZED: "AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION WOULD BE OF VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S., FOR INCREASING MUTUAL TRUSTS, AND FOR STRENGTHENING WORLD PEACE."

SUCH A POLICY, THE REPORT NOTES, LIES IN THE MAINSTREAM OF THE TASKS WHICH CONSTITUTE ORGANIC CONTINUATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM OF PEACE, ADVANCED BY THE 24TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU, WHICH POINTS TO REALISTIC WAYS FOR A TRANSITION FROM THE RISK OF WAR TO PEACEFUL COOPERATION.

REFERRING TO THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, L.I. BREZHNEV STRESSED THAT THE SOVIET UNION CONDUCTS THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF IMPLEMENTING THE 1974 VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING AND PREVENTING THE OPENING OF A NEW CHANNEL FOR THE ARMS RACE, WHICH WOULD NULLIFY WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED.

II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT ITEMS IN THE PREPARATION OF THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IS TO WORK OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WORDING FOR THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS (ARTICLE II, PAR.A).

AS YOU KNOW, WHEN CONCLUDING THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, THE SIDES WERE QUITE CLEAR AS TO WHAT WAS UNDERSTOOD BY THE TERM "LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS." AN APPROPRIATE COMMON UNDERSTANDING WAS WORKED OUT REGARDING THIS TERM. AND THERE ARE ABSOLUTELY NO GROUNDS FOR CHANGING THE FORMULA FOUND AS A RESULT OF JOINT WORK AND SUCCESSFULLY APPLIED OVER A PERIOD OF ALMOST FOUR YEARS. THE DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT MUST BE SUCH THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE

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UNDERSTANDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, THE SYSTEMS BEING LIMITED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT INCLUDE PRECISELY LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, AND PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF ARBITRARILY COUNTING OTHER LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT ICBM LAUNCHERS, AMONG THE SYSTEMS BEING LIMITED.

THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PARA. 1, PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVES

AND PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED AND CONFORMS TO THE UNDERSTANDING RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL INCLUDE THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OF MAY 26, 1972. THE SOVIET WORDING TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE DESIRE EXPRESSED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR SUPPLEMENTING THE LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION ADOPTED BY THE SIDES IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERIM AGREEMENT BY SPECIFYING THE RANGE OF ICBMS IN KILOMETERS.

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS CAREFULLY CONSIDDERED THE PROPOSALS AND CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASES ICBM LAUNCHERS, SET FORTH BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE FEBRUARY 19, 1976 MEETING.

WE NOTE THE POSSIBILITY EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION OF ADOPTING THE SOVIET FORMULATION FOR THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCEHERS, IF ARTICLE IV OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT INCLUDED AN ADDITIONAL OBLIGATION, SIMILAR TO THE APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE SIDES IN ARTICLE VI OF THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF ABM SYSTEMS.

ASSUMING THAT THE SOVIET WORDING FOR THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 1, IS ADOPTED FOR INCLUSION IN THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, THE USSR DELEGATION, WITH A VIEW TO ENSURING PROGRESS IN AGREEING UPON THE PROVISIONS BEING WORKED OUT FOR THE DRAFT, PROPOSES THAT THE SIDES ASSUME THE OBLIGATION NOT TO CONVERT MISSILE LAUNCHERS, OTHER THAN ICBM LAUNCHERS, INTO LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0041

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IN THIS CONNECTION THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES  
THAT ARTICLE IV OF THE DRAFT BE SUPPLEMENTED BY A  
PARAGRAPH READING AS FOLLOWS:

"THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO CONVERT MISSILE  
LAUNCHERS, OTHER THAN ICBM LAUNCHERS, INTO LAUNCHERS  
FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS."

ASSUMPTION OF SUCH AN OBLIGATION WOULD SERVE AS AN  
ADDITIONAL GUARANTEE FOR PROVIDING THE SIDES WITH  
CONFIDENCE THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT  
CANNOT BE CIRCUMVENTED THROUGH CONVERSION OF LAUNCHERS,  
OTHER THAN ICBM LAUNCHERS, INTO LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING  
ICBMS, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, IT WOULD SERVE TO ENHANCE THE  
EFFECTIVENESS AND VIABILITY OF THE OBLIGATIONS BEING  
ASSUMED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, IN THEIR ENTIRETY.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT IN WORKING OUT THE WORDING  
OF A PROVISION FOR SUCH AN OBLIGATION, IT WOULD BE  
COMPLETELY SUPERFLUOUS TO DRAW ANY KIND OF DISTINCTION  
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BETWEEN EXISTING LAUNCHERS, OTHER THAN ICBM LAUNCHERS,  
AND OTHER SUCH LAUNCHERS WHICH COULD BE CONSTRUCTED IN THE  
FUTURE. IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD ESPECIALLY LIKE TO  
NOTE THAT THE OBLIGATION CONTAINED IN THE PROPOSAL WE  
HAVE TABLED WOULD APPLY EQUALLY TO EXISTING LAUNCHERS,  
OTHER THAN ICBM LAUNCHERS, AND TO THOSE WHICH MIGHT  
APPEAR IN THE FUTURE.

AS FOR RAISING THE QUESTION OF THE EXAMPLES CITED  
IN THE U.S. DELEGATIONS'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 18, 1976,  
WITH REFERENCE TO THE PHRASE "ICBM LAUNCHERS," THE  
USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THIS TO BE COMPLETELY UNNECESSARY.  
MOREOVER, IN THE FUTURE SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD BE FRAUGHT  
WITH COMPLETELY GROUNDLESS MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND AMBIGUITIES.

THE NEW PROPOSAL TABLED BY THE USSR DELEGATION,  
BEING FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE CONTENT OF EXISTING  
SOVIET-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDINGS, CONSTITUTES A GOOD BASIS  
FOR REACHING FULL AGREEMENT ON THE FORMULATIONS PERTAINING

TO THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, AND TO  
THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE IV OF THE DRAFT.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

WE WILL REPORT AND STUDY THE U.S. DELEGATIONS'S  
STATEMENT. WE INTEND TO EXPRESS OUR CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE QUESTIONS YOU TOUCHED UPON AT THE APPROPRIATE  
TIME.

AS FOR THE SOVIET SIDES'S POSITION OF PRINCIPLE  
ON PRIOR NOTIFICATIONS, AND ALSO ON THE EXCHANGE OF  
INFORMATION CONCERNING THE NUMBERS BY CATEGORY OF THE  
SIDES' STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS BEING LIMITED, THE U.S.  
SIDE IS AWARE OF IT. THE SOVIET SIDES'S POSITION ON  
THESE QUESTIONS HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY SET FORTH BY THE  
USSR DELEGATION, IN PARTICULAR, AT THE MEETINGS OF  
OCTOBER 17, AND DECEMBER 9, 1975, AND FEBRUARY 10, 1976.  
JOHNSON

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